

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 IO-13 /073 W  
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R 161000Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2279  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRAGUE 0687

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: SHUM, PFOR, CZ, SW  
SUBJECT: CZECHOSLOVAK EMIGRE ON CHARTER 77

REF STOCKHOLM 1089

1. WE APPRECIATE REFTTEL. STOCKHOLM'S COMMENT IN PARA 1 ABOUT TENDENCY OF JANOUCH TO MAGNIFY THE EXTENT OF TENSION HERE CAUSED BY DISSIDENCE IS RIGHT ON THE MARK. THE REGIME IS NOT HAPPY ABOUT THE PERSISTENCE OF THE CHARTER 77 SUPPORTERS, BUT IT SHOWS NO OVERT SIGNS OF INTERNAL TENSIONS IN DEALING WITH THEM. BOTH MAJOR SUSPECTED FACTIONS IN THE REGIME ARE GETTING PART OF THEIR WAY: FOR THE MODERATES, NO ONE HAS YET BEEN IMPRISONED SIMPLY FOR CHARTER ACTIVITY; FOR THE HARD LINERS, THE SECURITY POLICE HAVE BEEN GIVEN RELATIVELY FREE REIN TO HARASS DISSIDENTS.

2. WHERE TENSION IS INCREASINGLY INTENSE IS AMONG THE CHARTER ACTIVISTS WHO HAVE JUST LOST THEIR INSPIRATIONAL LEADER, WITH THE DEATH OF PHILOSOPHER JAN PATOCKA, AND ARE UNSURE HOW THEY WILL  
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FUNCTION WITHOUT HIM. ACTIONS OF BOTH THE REGIME AND THE CHARTER 77 ADHERENTS IN CONNECTION WITH PATOCKA'S FUNERAL(SEPTEL) MAY PROVIDE USEFUL INSIGHTS INTO HOW WELL THE DETERMINATION OF THE DISSIDENTS IS HOLDING UP.

3. JANOUCH'S DESCRIPTION OF KRIEGEL'S SEMI-HOUSE ARREST IS PROBABLY

CORRECT AND MAY HAVE STARTED FOLLOWING HIS AND MLYNAR'S CONFERENCE WITH DUTCH PRESS DURING VAN DER STOEL VISIT. WE KNOW THAT HAJEK AND MLYNAR ARE RECEIVING TREATMENT OF THIS SORT AND ASSUME SOME OTHER ACTIVISTS ARE TOO.

4. IT STRIKES US THAT BY PLACING STORIES IN FOREIGN PRESS ABOUT KRIEGEL'S SERVICE WITH US FORCES IN WW II, WHICH LOCAL PROPAGANDA MEDIA HAVE ALREADY SCORNFULLY NOTED, JANOUCH IS BEING DISTINCTLY UNHELPFUL TO KRIEGEL. WE HAVE THE SAME REACTION TO EMIGRE-FED FOREIGN PRESS SPECULATION ABOUT EXPECTED DEPORTATION OR INTERNAL EXILE OF DISSIDENTS. CSSR SECURITY UNDOUBTEDLY FINDS SUCH RUMORS USEFUL IN ITS EFFORTS TO INTIMIDATE ACTIVE AND POTENTIAL DISSIDENTS AND MAY INDEED BE GENERATING THEM.

5. COMMENT: WITH REGARD TO JANOUCH'S MOST INTERESTING AND SIGNIFICANT POINT -- THAT THE CZECHOSLOVAK REGIME'S "REPRESSION HAS GOTTEN CONSIDERABLY WORSE IN RECENT DAYS, AND THE TENSION IS SUCH THAT HE DOES NOT BELIEVE IT CAN CONTINUE AS IT IS" -- EMBASSY WOULD NOTE THAT THE REGIME HAS STEADILY INCREASED ITS PRESSURE IN RECENT WEEKS, ESPECIALLY SINCE THE SEVERE FEBRUARY 11 PRAVDA WARNING, PRECISELY IN THE HOPE OF INTIMIDATING THE CHARTER 77 GROUP. EMBASSY ALSO BELIEVES THE PRESSURES ARE BY NOW VERY HEAVY AND NO DOUBT CAUSING MUCH PSYCHOLOGICAL STRAIN AMONG THE DISSIDENTS. BUT IT IS NOT YET CLEAR THAT THE REGIME IS READY TO TAKE DECISIVE STEPS TO BREAK THE BACK OF THE MOVEMENT THROUGH TRIALS AND LENGTHY IMPRISONMENT, FORCIBLE EXPULSIONS, ETC; IT WILL PRESUMABLY ALSO BE ASSESSING EFFECTS OR MOVEMENT OF PATOCKAS DEATH. WE BELIEVE HARDLINERS WITHIN THE LEADERSHIP, NO DOUBT SPURRED ON BY RECENT SOVIET HIGH-LEVEL VISITORS, MAY AGAIN BE CONFIDENTIAL

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PRESSING FOR EXPULSION--AN IDEA, IT WILL BE RECALLED, THAT WAS FLOATED VERY EARLY IN CONTACTS WITH AUSTRIA (PRAGUE 299)--OR IMPRISONMENT, BUT THE OVERALL COLLEGIAL LEADERSHIP STILL HESITATES TO PRESS MATTERS TO A SHOWDOWN. THE PRINCIPAL REASON FOR THIS HESITATION REMAINS CONCERN OVER THE IMPACT OF CZECHOSLOVAK DEVELOPMENTS ON BELGRADE 77. WE BELIEVE THE LEADERSHIP MUST BE VERY TEMPTED, NONETHELESS, TO TRY TO CRUSH THE DISSIDENTS' CHALLENGE SOON, IN THE HOPE THAT IT CAN GAIN A FEW WEEKS TIME TO REPAIR DIPLOMATIC DAMAGE FROM THE CHARTER 77 STRUGGLE BEFORE THE JUNE CSCE FOLLOW-UP PREPARATIONS BEGIN AT BELGRADE. BYRNE

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## Message Attributes

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**Concepts:** REPORTS, HUMAN RIGHTS, CHARTER 77, ALLEGATIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION  
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